

THE PROBLEM OF LABOR

Eugene V. Debs on the Evils of the Day.

CAUSES FOR THE DISCONTENT.

The Effect of the Machine—Corporations, Trusts and Other Combinations of Wealth and Wickedness—How the Pathway to Reform is Made Luminous.

[Copyright, 1895.]

It is to be doubted if there is a more hackneyed phrase relating to current affairs than the "elevation" of the American toilers, breadwinners and wealth producers, and the frequent use of the expression, indicative of its vitality, makes it wonderfully suggestive of conditions, of lines which, unlike parallels of latitude and meridians of longitude, are visible to the naked eye and show with terrible distinctness where the rich reap and gather into barns, often requiring them to pull down their old barns and build larger structures that they may have ample room for their goods, and the muzzled poor, who, bowed and sweating, tread out the corn and receive less than in the olden time was awarded the unmuzzled ox which used its cloven hoofs to enrich its owner.

The frequent employment of the term "elevation" when the condition of labor is under discussion involves the idea of depression, lowliness, poverty, ignorance and degradation, a chain of moral, intellectual, financial, industrial and domestic sloughs from which labor must be extricated and exalted to a higher plane, but it so happens that amid the clashing contrariety of opinions and panaceas, methods, means and appliances labor, instead of being elevated, sinks lower in the industrial slough.

The Optimistic School.

In scanning the industrial field from center to horizon, whether with the naked eye or with the aid of the optigraph, the investigator must be an optimist of the most sublimated type, who concludes that, as a nation, we have put into operation those mind and moral forces which, by searching, have found out the will of God concerning the great mass of our fellow men whose only source of income is their toil. These disciples of optimistic philosophy regard further investigation as time thrown away and agitation scarcely less than a crime against the peace and welfare of society. They advocate stagnation, they do not know that investigation is truth in motion, nor will they believe that this mission is iconoclastic; that it abhors sham and hypocrisy and the manifold ills which are the progeny of duplicity and chicanery.

The optimistic school of philosophers who believe, or affect to believe, that all things are ordered for the best look ahead and say the present conditions are "well enough and ought to be let alone." Their faith is stupefying. It would never remove a mountain nor a mole hill, not even a straw. In all the ages of the world the optimist has in human affairs symbolized inertia, and left to them the slaves of the Pharisees would still be building pyramids, tombs for dead monsters who in life were their taskmasters. If the colonists had been optimists, Massachusetts would still be hanting witches and whipping Quakers and Americans would be the subjects of Victoria. If Jesus Christ had been an optimist, surveying affairs as they existed in Judaea and in Jerusalem, he would have said, "All things are ordered for the best, and I will let them alone." He would not have scourged the money changers out of the temple nor denounced the Pharisees. He began the agitation crusade against oppression. He denounced the rich not because they were rich, but because they made riches their god and the means of oppression, and what was true during Christ's sojourn upon earth is true now, and the agitation of which he was the author has moved forward with varying force to the present.

Financial Legerdemain.

The profound selfishness manifested on the part of philanthropists to educate the poor, thereby enabling them to estimate the blessings that have fallen to their lot, ought not to be treated with flippant criticism. It is doubtless an honest and an earnest concern for their welfare. But education, instead of exerting a pacifying effect, has broadened men's conceptions of rights and prerogatives and fed the fires of agitation with exhaustless fuel, and now graduating from the ranks of wage earners are men who are equipped to stand before the world and plead the cause of men who like themselves wear the badge of labor. Is it finance? However sophisticated and obscured by the arts of advocates of "honest money," "sound money," "parity" and all the juggling of "single standard" or "gold standard" neonomancers, the trick is discovered and the impostor exposed, and since the government's fiat is what gives money its value they demand that no institution standing between them and the government shall have any power conferred by statute to determine the quality or the quantity of money, and they will continue to agitate the money question until national banks and their dead fall machinery cease to exercise statutory rights to collect tribute from an overtaxed and overmortgaged people. They will not consent to be robbed in the interest of Shylocks nor aid the Rothschilds nor any other of the class operating on credit. As a result, the government could pay fair wages and at the same time reduce the rates of transportation. The vicious policy now in vogue would disappear. Railroad wrecking by the Brices, Goulds, Huntingtons and the rest would be of the "dead past." Railroad receiverships and the petty tyrannies of diminutive but proud and pompous judges would no longer excite the disgust of men nor make angels weep like an April cloud.

The railroad lobby in all the halls of legislation would no longer menace the liberties of the people, and the railroad pass would be deprived of its power to debauch legislators and blotch the ermine of courts. What is true of government ownership of railroads is equally true of government ownership of the telegraph. The capitalization of water would no longer mock the sovereign power of the people, and the wires and the electrical currents, freed from the bondage of corporate monopoly, would in doing the bidding of the people become at once the potent factors of a higher and a freer civilization.

Origin of All Reforms.

Without engaging in any superlunation of the educational development of the workmen of the United States, credit is due them as the avant gardes of political policies in the line of emancipation from debasing environments, which investigation and discussion proclaim with ever increasing emphasis as prudent and feasible, and which, wrought out and reduced to practice, would be in industrial affairs fruitful of continuous blessings, and when the industrial interests of the country are

made permanently peaceful and prosperous the winter of the nation's discontent will be made glorious summer by the triumph of common sense over the entrenched power of corporations, trusts, monopolies, syndicates and all the combinations of wealth and wickedness which now cast their dark shadows athwart the pathway of the people.

I need not be told for my information that there are difficulties in the way of the realization of the blessings of reform. I know of no good thing that has been secured to the human family without a struggle, battles succeeding battles from the day Moses led the Israelites through the Red sea down to the "living present," nor has there been a reform that stands forth today challenging the admiration of the world that did not have its origin in humble and obscure beginnings, nor has the work of reform proceeded without encountering the opposition of men, who, trusting in their fortified strongholds and the ignorance of their victims, have treated with ineffable contempt those who invaded their intrenchments, nor have these aristocratic autocrats been required to contend for their assumed rights unaided by others. Power exerts a charming influence over the weak, the purposeless, the cringing, fawning henchmen and retainers who for the hiding of their master's content with the thrift which follows slavish obedience. It has been true in all the past and is true now, an instance in which history constantly repeats itself.

In the recent past, when millions of chattel slaves disgraced the civilization of all Christendom, there were a few humble, obscure men within narrow limits of great areas, the score as compared with the million, who pleaded the cause of freedom. They placed their lives in peril, and some wore the martyr's crown, but with a power for the hiding of their master's content with the thrift which follows slavish obedience. It has been true in all the past and is true now, an instance in which history constantly repeats itself.

A Debasing Power.

By the educational processes in vogue workmen have discovered that the railroads of the country have become a dominating and a debasing power in the government, and so startlingly manifest is the fact that few are found with sufficient guile and effrontery to deny the allegation. The humiliating fact crops out on all occasions when an effort is made either in congress or in state legislatures to in any way bring these corporations to a sense of their dependence upon law for their existence. The very common remark that "railroads own the government" is in consequence of their arrogant attitude in all cases when redress for grievances is sought, whether by communities, states or individuals. These corporations promptly resent any and all interference with their schemes of fraud and aggrandizement, and the laws under their manipulation of legislative machinery have been so framed that their astute attorneys have little trouble in finding a technical hole of sufficient extent to permit the corporation to pass through unhindered, and if the attorney is lacking in the required assurance the judge usually finds it, for the generous act does not, it is surmised, wait for his reward in heaven. In this educational evolution of workmen it is discovered that railroad corporations have a number of methods by which they prey upon the public and upon each other, among which is what is termed "capitalization," a happy process by which water is injected into stocks and bonds designated as an investment and upon which tribute is collected from an overtaxed people. This stupendous fraud has proceeded until the total estimated value of the railroads of the country is known to be three-fifths water. To pay dividends upon this colossal fraud requires that the wages of employees shall be reduced until the lowest point of endurance has been reached. In looking about for a remedy for an evil of such devilish proportions and proclivities the "government ownership of railroads" has been brought prominently forward in labor discussions. If the government owned and operated the railroads of the country, it is held, and with great propriety, I conclude, that a brood of vicious practices which the interstate commerce law was specially enacted to stamp out would, with a thousand others equally at war with honesty, disappear. The government would not tolerate fraud in the management of railroads and would be as quick to punish those who perpetrated them as if they were postoffice employees. Nor would the government be anxious to earn profits beyond an amount required to keep them in first class operating condition. As a result, the government could pay fair wages and at the same time reduce the rates of transportation. The vicious policy now in vogue would disappear. Railroad wrecking by the Brices, Goulds, Huntingtons and the rest would be of the "dead past." Railroad receiverships and the petty tyrannies of diminutive but proud and pompous judges would no longer excite the disgust of men nor make angels weep like an April cloud.

The railroad lobby in all the halls of legislation would no longer menace the liberties of the people, and the railroad pass would be deprived of its power to debauch legislators and blotch the ermine of courts. What is true of government ownership of railroads is equally true of government ownership of the telegraph. The capitalization of water would no longer mock the sovereign power of the people, and the wires and the electrical currents, freed from the bondage of corporate monopoly, would in doing the bidding of the people become at once the potent factors of a higher and a freer civilization.

Without engaging in any superlunation of the educational development of the workmen of the United States, credit is due them as the avant gardes of political policies in the line of emancipation from debasing environments, which investigation and discussion proclaim with ever increasing emphasis as prudent and feasible, and which, wrought out and reduced to practice, would be in industrial affairs fruitful of continuous blessings, and when the industrial interests of the country are

made permanently peaceful and prosperous the winter of the nation's discontent will be made glorious summer by the triumph of common sense over the entrenched power of corporations, trusts, monopolies, syndicates and all the combinations of wealth and wickedness which now cast their dark shadows athwart the pathway of the people.

I need not be told for my information that there are difficulties in the way of the realization of the blessings of reform. I know of no good thing that has been secured to the human family without a struggle, battles succeeding battles from the day Moses led the Israelites through the Red sea down to the "living present," nor has there been a reform that stands forth today challenging the admiration of the world that did not have its origin in humble and obscure beginnings, nor has the work of reform proceeded without encountering the opposition of men, who, trusting in their fortified strongholds and the ignorance of their victims, have treated with ineffable contempt those who invaded their intrenchments, nor have these aristocratic autocrats been required to contend for their assumed rights unaided by others. Power exerts a charming influence over the weak, the purposeless, the cringing, fawning henchmen and retainers who for the hiding of their master's content with the thrift which follows slavish obedience. It has been true in all the past and is true now, an instance in which history constantly repeats itself.

In the recent past, when millions of chattel slaves disgraced the civilization of all Christendom, there were a few humble, obscure men within narrow limits of great areas, the score as compared with the million, who pleaded the cause of freedom. They placed their lives in peril, and some wore the martyr's crown, but with a power for the hiding of their master's content with the thrift which follows slavish obedience. It has been true in all the past and is true now, an instance in which history constantly repeats itself.

made permanently peaceful and prosperous the winter of the nation's discontent will be made glorious summer by the triumph of common sense over the entrenched power of corporations, trusts, monopolies, syndicates and all the combinations of wealth and wickedness which now cast their dark shadows athwart the pathway of the people.

I need not be told for my information that there are difficulties in the way of the realization of the blessings of reform. I know of no good thing that has been secured to the human family without a struggle, battles succeeding battles from the day Moses led the Israelites through the Red sea down to the "living present," nor has there been a reform that stands forth today challenging the admiration of the world that did not have its origin in humble and obscure beginnings, nor has the work of reform proceeded without encountering the opposition of men, who, trusting in their fortified strongholds and the ignorance of their victims, have treated with ineffable contempt those who invaded their intrenchments, nor have these aristocratic autocrats been required to contend for their assumed rights unaided by others. Power exerts a charming influence over the weak, the purposeless, the cringing, fawning henchmen and retainers who for the hiding of their master's content with the thrift which follows slavish obedience. It has been true in all the past and is true now, an instance in which history constantly repeats itself.

In the recent past, when millions of chattel slaves disgraced the civilization of all Christendom, there were a few humble, obscure men within narrow limits of great areas, the score as compared with the million, who pleaded the cause of freedom. They placed their lives in peril, and some wore the martyr's crown, but with a power for the hiding of their master's content with the thrift which follows slavish obedience. It has been true in all the past and is true now, an instance in which history constantly repeats itself.

A Challenge to Plutocracy.

In government circles the danger is realized, but within the sweep of official vision only guile is thought of. The corrupt plutocracy, enriched by famished toil, secretly surveys the scene and enlarges its palaces and embellishes them with ill gotten wealth, and the press and the pulpit, palladiums of liberty, team, one with assurances that in all time labor was never so prosperous as now, while the other exhorts to endurance with something better than "40 acres and a mule" in prospect when from the nerveless hand of labor its implements fall and its task is done. Amid these pleas of falsehood and flattery the workmen of America are proposing reforms calculated to improve conditions and break down intarring and debasing environments, and it should be said to the credit of the educational advancement of workmen that they are not advocating illusory projects. They discard utopian theories. Rejecting the chimerical, they challenge the whole army of plutocrats and their henchmen to the debate, confident that as the controversy proceeds the new light that comes when truth leads the way will make the pathway of reform more luminous.

The plea put forth in the interest of monopoly that certain products have been cheapened is admitted, but investigation discloses the hazardous fact that in cheapening the product, through the agency of the machine, the man, the woman and the child who toil in factory, forge, mine and shop have been cheapened in a still greater ratio, besides being beggared, betrayed and degraded.

The dominant thought of the present crystallized may be expressed in the word "Americanism." As ours is a type of government designed to be free than that of any other government, ancient or modern, policy that levels down the American workman to the squalid level of coolies and peons while it elevates the rich to the plane of royalty is not and will not be tolerated. The educational forces in operation in the ranks of workmen are pledged to the overthrow of such a policy. Americanism means sovereignty, and sovereignty means power, a power not to steal, not to rob, not to oppress, impoverish and degrade its devotees, but a power to elevate, emancipate and fill the land with the resounding acclaim, "Workmen are free and justice prevails."

EUGENE V. DEBS.

How Sardou Makes a Play.

Sardou's way of working is as follows: The moment an idea has occurred to him he puts it down, and all the various notes, documents, particulars which have to do with this idea are joined together, forming a sort of dossier. When the idea is crystallized into dramatic shape, Sardou writes a scenario of a few pages, giving the skeleton, as it were, of the whole play. Then he puts the work aside. All his various schemes are treated in the same way. He has at the present day from 70 to 80 dossiers in his drawers, out of which eight or ten plays will come. So when he has to write a drama or comedy, he only chooses. For instance, "Theodora" was written 15 years after it originated in the author's mind.

As soon as Sardou's choice is made he reads over all the accompanying notes and documents which pertain to that play, and then he begins to write the drama or comedy, act by act, scene by scene, as they come into his mind. When he has done this preliminary work, he rewrites the play in large white characters. The play is then reduced and condensed. It is this second manuscript which is given to the copyist, to whom is intrusted the care of putting it in shape.

All this writing is ordinarily done at Marly. Sardou is not disturbed there as he is in Paris.—McClure's Magazine.

Reported His Own Death.

Germans are nothing if not methodical. Herr von Osten-Sacken, a lieutenant of hussars, recently wounded himself mortally by accident. The doctor told him he had only three hours to live, whereupon, after making his will, he drew up the official report of his own death and sent it to his superior officer.

RAILROAD FREIGHTS.

DOES ENGLAND REGULATE AMERICAN ROAD CHARGES?

Rates on Foreign Products Cheaper Than Given to Home Goods—Special Favors and Concessions to British Shippers. Disgraceful Discrimination.

We hope that it will never again be necessary to refer to the fact that American railroads discriminate in their freight rates in favor of foreign goods. We find, however, from Tin and Terne, that "the condition is now as bad as it was last year," although there was some improvement in the situation after the action of the trunk lines last January. Tin plate is not the only article of American manufacture that it has discriminated against. In this case, as we have previously pointed out, the manufacturers of Pittsburgh, when selling in markets not far west, have to compete with Welsh tin plate that is laid down there at a lower rate of freight from New York or Baltimore than the American plate pays when shipped from Pittsburgh to the same point.

The American manufacturers do not ask the railroads to reduce the rates on American plate, but they do ask for fairness, honesty and justice. It is a disgrace to our entire railroad system that American manufacturers and producers should have any cause for complaint whatever. Our railroads have during the past two years felt very severely the effect of the inauguration of the system of free trade. It has crippled their business, made very many lines insolvent and stopped very many more from paying dividends.

Every railroad president and official in this country knows perfectly well that a policy which will build up our country is a good policy for the railroads. If the presidents of the roads are mere figureheads, controlled by and subservient to English interests, the American people should know it, and nothing will more effectively hasten a movement toward the government control of American railroads than the despicable treatment which the officials of our roads are now according to American producers and to American enterprise. They ought to be thoroughly ashamed of themselves.

Under their charter the English railroads are compelled to carry freight for export at lower rates than are charged on similar goods consumed at home. It is bad enough for our manufacturers to be compelled to meet this item of competition without the addition of special favoritism also shown to the English manufacturers by the presidents of American railroad systems. If Europeans own our roads and can fix our freight rates to suit themselves, let us know it. Let American labor, American industries and American producers be brought face to face with their enemies. The low tariff is bad enough, but the condition of low freight rates for foreign goods make matters worse. It looks very much as if English control extended not only throughout the White House, but also into the private offices of the presidents of American railroads, so called. Let us see if our railroad presidents yet have any Americanism, or if they are the mere advocates, supporters and tools of the free trade party in its policy of destruction to everything American.

Louisiana's Permanent Protector.

A daily Republican newspaper, to be published in New Orleans, is a certainty of the near future, a general stock company having been organized for the purpose. The new paper, to be known as the New Orleans Republican, "will advocate the protection of every American industry." While doing this, it is the intention of the management to see "that dividends are forthcoming at the earliest possible date." We trust that this may be the case. The people of Louisiana must be most thoroughly convinced of the necessity of a permanent policy of protection to promote the best interests of their own state, and a paper that helps to do this must necessarily be supported by those whom it will benefit, and this is the entire population of Louisiana.

How Farmers Feel.

A New York state farmer tells us that the markets are very dull for all kinds of produce. He sends us a Cooperstown market report which shows that farmers receive only 12 cents a dozen for their eggs, 16 to 17 cents a pound for their butter and from 4 1/2 to 10 cents a pound for their hops. As it costs 10 cents a pound to raise hops, and that price is paid only for the choicest growths, it is evident that the process of letting the hop growers out into the markets of the world by reducing the tariff on hops, so that foreign grown hops can reach our markets more cheaply, has not proved to be the great success that the free traders predicted.

Another Bradford Report.

The report of Consul Meeker at Bradford, England, shows that the exports of woolen goods from that city to the United States for the month of February, 1895, were \$1,500,000 greater than for the month of February, 1894. This information should be read in connection with Consul Meeker's other report of the sale of two sample cases of American woolen goods in Bradford.—Buffalo Express.

Contrary Courses.

British foreign trade increasing? Of course it is. And American foreign trade shrinking? Of course, also. What was the Gorman-Wilson tariff for anyway? In this connection it may be remarked that under the "odious" McKinley act the relative drift of things in the two countries was exactly opposite.—Boston Journal.

What, Another Trust?

The Plate Glass trust has been organized with a capital of \$10,000,000. Still the Democrats revised the tariff less than a year ago under a pledge to the people that there should be no more trusts.—Cleveland Leader.

A GREAT EXPENSE

To Carry on an Almost Helpless Fight.

—At Last the Fight is Over.

(From the Battle Creek Moon.)

Our representative called at 26 Battle Creek Avenue, the residence of S. L. Robbins, and in an interview with him brought out the following facts: Mr. Robbins tells of his wife's experience in a manner that carries conviction with his words. He says, "I am sorry my wife is not at home this P. M., but no one knows better than I how she has suffered during past years. For twenty years she has been afflicted with the various forms of kidney complaint and an enlargement of the liver. She was often confined to her bed for more than two weeks at a time suffering untold agony. She has doctored constantly, and I have paid out in doctors' bills for her alone as much as \$900.00, and then her relief was only such that she would be able to be around for a spell. Some time ago she felt the symptoms of another attack coming on, such as a pain in through the kidneys and back. I hardly know what induced me to get a box of Doan's Kidney Pills, instead of sending for the family physician; however, I got some and she commenced their use. It was a surprise to us both to see their action; the attack was warded off, and she continued taking them with marked improvement each day of their use. She is better now than she has been in years, the pain in the back and others in the kidneys have entirely gone. Hardly a day goes by that we do not mention the great good Doan's Kidney Pills have done her. I was always opposed to patent medicines, but confess that my wife's experience with Doan's Kidney Pills has done much to change my opinion. If it were not for those pills she would not have been able to be out this afternoon."

Doan's Kidney Pills for sale by all dealers—price, 50 cents. Mailed by Foster-Milburn Co., Buffalo, N. Y., sole agents for the U. S. Remember the name, Doan's, and take no other.

Do You Want to Stop Tobacco?

You Can Be Cured While Using It.

The habit of using tobacco grows on a man until grave diseases are produced. Tobacco causes cancer of the mouth and stomach, dyspepsia, loss of memory, nervous affections, congestion of the retina, and wasting of the optic nerve, resulting in impairment of the vision, even to the extent of blindness; dizziness, or vertigo; tobacco asthma; highly suffocating; dull pain in the region of the heart, followed later by sharp pain, palpitation and weakened pulse, resulting in fatal heart disease. It also causes loss of vitality.

Quit, before it is too late. Doan's Curo is a scientific and reliable vegetable remedy, guaranteed to be perfectly harmless, and which has been in use for the last 25 years, having cured thousands of habitual tobacco users—smokers, chewers and snuff-tippers.

You can use all the tobacco you want while taking "Doan's Curo." It will notify you when to stop. We give a written guarantee to permanently cure any case with three boxes, or refund the money with 10 per cent interest.

"Doan's Curo" is not a substitute, but a reliable and scientific cure, which absolutely destroys the craving for tobacco without the aid of will power, and with no inconvenience. It leaves the system as pure and free from nicotine as the day you took your first chew or smoke.

Sold by all druggists, at \$2.00 per box, three boxes (thirty days treatment), and guaranteed cure, \$2.50, or sent direct upon receipt of price. Send six two-cent stamps for sample box, booklet and price free. Foreign Chemical & Manufacturing Company, Manufacturing Chemists, La Crosse, Wis. (2077)

FITS AND NERVOUS DISEASES.

When Henry M. Hall, M.D., late surgeon U. S. A., Department of Tennessee, returned from the war he found a child afflicted with epilepsy. Leading physicians were consulted, without apparent benefit. Noted specialists could give but little if any relief. To rescue his child from a fate worse than death became the object of his life. For several years experiment followed experiment, until at last success crowned his efforts. In 1890 old age and infirmities induced him to impart the knowledge of how to manufacture it, under the agreement that a bottle should be sent free of all charges to any one applying for it, who was afflicted with epilepsy. Since then over 20,000 free bottles have been sent to the afflicted. Experience has proved that it cures Epilepsy, St. Vitus' Dance, and all forms of Nervous Affliction. If you want to try this wonderful remedy free of all charge, write, stating your disease as plainly as possible, give your age and post office. Address The Hall Chemical Co., West Philadelphia, Pa.

WILCOX COMPOUND TANSY PILLS

BEWARE OF COUNTERFEITS. The only safe and always reliable Remedy for Ladies. A cure for worthless and dangerous imitations. Save money and guard health by taking nothing but the only genuine and original Wilcox Compound Tansy Pills, in metal boxes bearing shield trade mark. Write for full particulars. Send 4c. for Women's safe Guard, securely mailed.

WILCOX & COMPANY, 225 South Eighth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

CHAS. S. FEE, Gen'l Pass. Agent, St. Paul, Minn.

IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN

Send me FOUR CENTS in stamps and let me send you something valuable on the subject.

NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD.

IRRIGATION

KEATING

WORLD'S

LIGHTEST,

STRONGEST,

SPEEDIEST.

Let us prove it by our CATALOGUE.

KEATING WHEEL CO.,

Holyoke, Mass.

BICYCLES.

KEATING WHEEL CO.,

Holyoke, Mass.